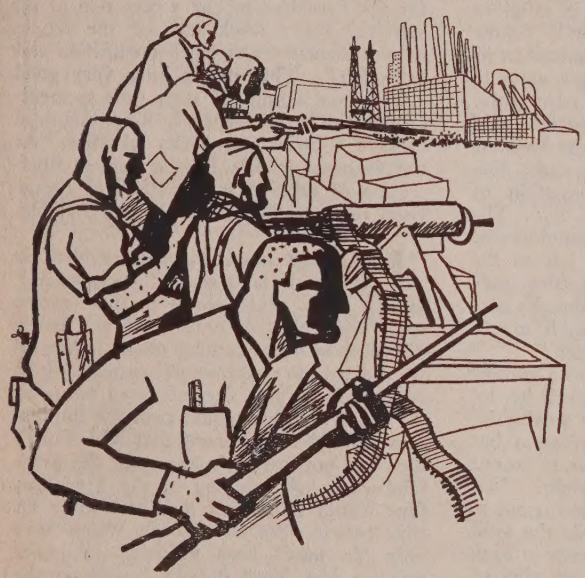
Vol. XVI
No. 10

THE WORLD TOMORROW

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.



CLASS WAR AND RELIGION

KIRBY PAGE

When British Students Meet

JAMES C. RETTIE

Driftwood or Dynamite

HENRY T. HODGKIN

UNITY AND PROGRESS

John Dewey

MARCH 8th

10 cents a copy, $3.00 a year

The World Tomorrow

Vol. XVI March 8, 1933 No. 10

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The World Tomorrow, Inc.

Published on Wednesday of each week at 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York, N. Y.

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THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 10 cents; $3 per year; Canada, $3.50; foreign, $3.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Ex Cathedra

OF all the discredited prophets who flourished in the day of prosperity Roger Babson is probably the most pathetic. Recently he had a scheme for recruiting an army of salesmen from the unemployed in order to revive prosperity by forcing goods on the market through sales pressure. Evidently he has not yet learned that the people are not buying because they have no money to buy. In a more recent article in the *Congregationalist* he develops this same theme in religious terms: "The student who will follow Jesus will today train to be a salesman or a business man instead of being content to work for a salary. . . . The present situation will improve only as more men and women are willing to undertake business risks—performing new services and aiding in the distribution and consumption of goods already being produced. . . . The trouble with technological unemployment is that when a man loses his job on the machine, instead of joining the sales force to sell the product of that machine, he goes home to mope and berates research, manufacturers and other business men."

Isn't that a touching picture of a worker who has been thrown out of work by, let us say, the Baldwin locomotive works, refusing to succumb to the depression but heroically buckling on his armor to go out and sell locomotives to the people? Mr. Babson is a statistician but he seems not to have discovered as yet that while the total income of the country has been cut in half, the consumption capacity of all citizens who do not derive income from property has been cut by about 66 per cent. House to house canvassing by unemployed workers will hardly solve that problem. We have an idea that Mr. Babson is one of the naive wise men of capitalism rather than one of its rogues. But his ignorance is instructive. Thus the blind lead the blind.

MR. HARRY WOOLEVER, editor of the *National Methodist Press,* in an article in the *Christian Advocate,* is certain that salvation will not come through an uprising of the farmers and he is also certain that William Green's declaration for labor that "we shall fight with every legitimate weapon at our command to restore the kind of America in which a man can have a chance in his own right . . ." represents a dangerous counsel. The alternative? Mr. Woolever found an old Congressman who gave him the answer to his problem. "Congress can not cure our trouble. . . . That which will do more for America than all else would be for the President to call a cessation of all activities for a week and ask the people to give themselves to quiet, meditation and reflection." That might be a very good idea if they would use their time to meditate on the heroic steps which are required to save a civilization from injustice. As the proposal stands, it is a perfect illustration of religion as a method of escape from rigorous thought and rigorous action.

"I NEVER have changed my ideas in the least about wages," declares Mr. Henry Ford. "Of course in these times, with everything so paralyzed, we finally did have to do something about it but all we did was to make an adjustment which recognized in part the increased value of the dollar." One would gain the impression from that statement that Mr. Ford's men had not lost their homes by the thousands nor are standing in the breadline. One would think that they are better off than before since Mr. Ford's wages have only "in part" been adjusted to lower prices. Mr. Ford doesn't believe in the "share-the-work" plan. "You just have everybody poor under that plan," declares the automobile wizard. He ascribes the Briggs strike to this plan. He set the Briggs people right, he declares. "The Briggs plant is paying better wages and getting out more bodies with FEWER MEN because it has stopped letting theorists run the shop." We don't believe in the share-the-work hypocrisy either but we would like to know what Mr. Ford intends to do for the men who are unemployed because Briggs produces more bodies with fewer men.

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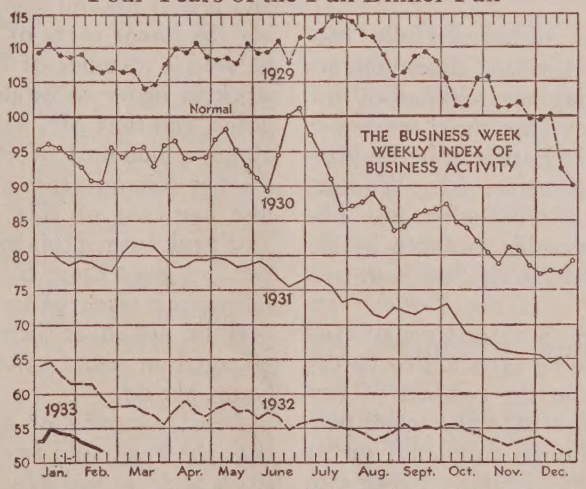
THE WORLD TOMORROW

Vol. XVI March 8, 1933 No. 10

The Last of the Mohicans

We shall never again see in the President's chair a man like Herbert Hoover. He is the last of a long line. Pure and undefiled individualism has had a long tenure in the White House, but its day is ended. We do not mean to give the impression that the incoming President is a Socialist or Communist—the circulation of such a false rumor would cause him intense agony of spirit. But the evidence is clear that Mr. Roosevelt is intellectually and emotionally committed to a vast extension of social control, and his name must be removed from the list of orthodox individualists. Within four years he may develop into a conscientious Fascist. At any rate, he will move further and further away from the American plan of keeping the government out of business. If he fails to lift the nation out of the mire of economic misery, he will certainly be succeeded by a President who is further to the Left—unless in the meantime the situation becomes so desperate that we abandon all pretense of maintaining a democratic government at Washington and resign ourselves to a thinly disguised or openly flaunted dictatorship by bankers and industrialists.

Four Years of the Full Dinner Pail



The above chart, prepared by *The Business Week*, is compiled from eight series of weekly figures—steel mill operations, building contracts, bituminous coal production, electric power output, non-bulk car loadings, check payments outside New York, commercial loans of reporting Federal Reserve member banks, and currency in circulation.

Even among business men the stock of individualism has dropped as precipitously as the "gilt edge" stock once generously offered to a grateful public by Samuel Insull, et al. "Never have such hopeful eyes been turned on a new administration as these same capitalists, ex-capitalists, and would-be-capitalists are bending on the new Chief Executive," runs an editorial in *The Business Week*. In spite of the fact that "never has a man entered the White House with whose policies and theories, associations and record Business, particularly Big Business, was so completely in disagreement." Listen to their fervent pleas: "Recovery is a government problem, now. . . . What is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation? Is it a pawnshop, or a fire department? . . . If the new President will tell the R. F. C. that it is instructed henceforth to act as a rescue squad, not as a sound investment bank . . . he will find his difficulties thenceforward greatly decreased. . . . Neither business activity nor market buoyancy can come into being without a revival of public confidence. The responsibility rests, obviously, upon government." Obviously! A rescue squad!

Amazing beyond comprehension, therefore, is the eulogy of Mr. Hoover which covered four full pages of the New York *Times* last Sunday. The fact that this article was written by French Strother, who for three years was a member of the President's immediate personal staff as administrative assistant, insures accuracy in the reflection of Herbert Hoover's present convictions. We now give literal quotations: "Mr. Hoover objects to government operation as a vicious perversion of the traditional functions of government. . . . Under this policy the American people have weathered three winters of the depression without resorting to direct Federal aid, and with practically no unrelieved hunger. . . . Thus, the major policy — preservation of wage scales, staggering of employment, industrial peace, and relief of distress by local effort—successfully served its purposes of preventing suffering and preserving the social order. It was a perfect example of successful application of Mr. Hoover's primary conception of government—the minimum interference with the life of the citizen. . . . Mr. Hoover stood inflexible against unsound money, against government ownership and operation of business, and against direct Federal relief. . . . President Hoover's unique distinction in our roll of Presidents is his equipment for a full understanding of this age of rapid change in which we live. He is the only twentieth century mind we have had in the Presidential office."

Over against these last sentences we should like to place words of wisdom uttered by Calvin Coolidge in an interview accorded to Henry L. Stoddard of the New York *Sun* on December 14, 1932, which we pub-

lished previously but which deserve repetition until they become embedded in the public mind: "We are in a new era to which I do not belong, and it would not be possible for me to adjust myself to it. . . . When I read of the new-fangled things that are so popular now I realize that my time in public affairs is past. I wouldn't know how to handle them if I were called upon to do so. . . . These new ideas call for new men to develop them. That task is not for men who believe in the only kind of government I know anything about."

We *are* in a new era. The efficiency of the old system of individualism has been paralyzed by complexity and interdependence. The preservation of the old capitalism is no longer a live alternative. Even so devoted a public servant and so able an engineer as the retiring President could not successfully operate the national government in accordance with the principles of individualism. "New-fangled things" are required. Mr. Hoover is the last of the Mohicans!

The Cabinet

Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet is rather artfully constructed from the standpoint of giving it the semblance of liberalism without encouraging any real radicalism. The key position in the Cabinet (for the Treasury is more important than the State Department in the present situation) goes to a conservative, Mr. Woodin, president of the American Car and Foundry Co. The New York *Herald-Tribune* gives his measure by declaring that his appointment will satisfy "the sane and solid sections of the country." If the *Tribune* approves what more need be said? Senator Cordell Hull is a free trade liberal who may be expected to betray traces of Wilsonian liberalism in the conduct of foreign policy. He is a better man than the much publicised Mr. Newton Baker, though probably not as able. The appointment of Miss Frances Perkins to the Department of Labor is the most gratifying selection in the entire Cabinet list. She is not only infinitely superior to the American Federation of Labor choice for the position, Mr. Tobin, but probably superior to anyone else in the old parties who could have been selected for the job.

Mr. Harold Ickes, who is to represent the progressive Republicans in the Cabinet, is an old Rooseveltian liberal who took a leading part in the Illinois fight against Samuel Insull. Oversight of public lands, Boulder Dam and other Federal power projects is likely to be administered in behalf of the public interest under his guidance to a greater degree than under any recent Secretary of the Interior. Daniel Roper is a purely political appointment, designed to satisfy Senator McAdoo, who made Roosevelt's nomination possible. He is the politician type, placed in charge of a department which requires expert knowledge. Former Governor Dern of Utah, who has the War Department portfolio, is nationally unknown and was obviously chosen for geographic reasons.

All in all, the Cabinet is not a very impressive group either in terms of intellectual fitness or political conviction. Its merits are comparative only. It is better than a Cabinet of Barney Baruchs, Newton Bakers and Albert Ritchies.

The Morals of a Decadent Capitalism

Mr. Charles Mitchell, of the National City Bank, testifying before a senatorial committee, is presenting the nation with an interesting case study in the ethics of American capitalism. Mr. Mitchell, it may be remembered, was the gentleman who tried hardest to drive the 1929 boom to the absurd heights which culminated in the final debacle. He defied the Federal Reserve Bank in his support of the boom by an easy money policy. But these dubious services shrink into insignificance in comparison with the revelations before the Senate committee.

It now appears that Mr. Mitchell garnered three and a half million dollars in salaries and bonuses during the boom years of 1927, 1928 and 1929 and that he sold a member of his family $2,800,000 worth of stock in order to establish a loss for income tax purposes, and that Mr. Mitchell's bank, moreover, loaned about a hundred of its officers $2,400,000 to cover market commitments after the crash. No more than five per cent of this amount has ever been repaid. The bank loaned this money to its officers without interest and gave them this special privilege while it was selling out many of its customers because their collateral did not cover their loans. Furthermore, the bank engaged in short sales of its own stock during the boom period.

Most amazing of all the revelations was the fact that the bank sold twelve million dollars worth of its stock at $200 and $220 to its employees on the partial payment plan. They have paid off seven million of this indebtedness but still owe more upon it than the stock is now worth at market prices. They are relieved of their obligation only if they resign their positions. The president of the bank testified that the employees were "perfectly satisfied" with this arrangement, which suggests that the National City Bank has a peculiar species of human beings in its employ, curious men who enjoy being mulcted by their superiors.

This assurance that the employees are perfectly satisfied and that "their morale is the highest of any organization in the world" adds just the proper touch of hypocrisy to this amazing revelation of double-dealing, dishonesty and graft. The poor white collar workers of banks are not renowned for their rebellious heroism, but they are human and they are therefore bound to resent injustice. Since thousands of their fellows are in the ranks of the unemployed they are, however, well advised to repress their resentments and

give their dishonest superiors the pretext for parading their good morale before a senatorial committee.

A friend of ours assured us recently that he did not like capitalism but thought it preferable to the "tyranny" of any alternative system. We wonder if it is really possible to read what the Owen Youngs, the Charles Mitchells, the Insulls and all the "good" and the "bad" capitalists did in the heyday of American prosperity and still have any confidence in capitalism. Surely it must become increasingly apparent that the system is morally as well as economically bankrupt and that it corrupts the souls of its beneficiaries as much as it destroys the bodies of its victims.

Another Radical Joins the Unemployed

Dr. James M. Yard, director of religious activities at Northwestern University, has recently been notified that his contract will not be renewed on its expiration next fall. Dr. Yard was called to Evanston about five years ago to coördinate religious functions on the campus, as compulsory chapel had been abolished not long before and the administration of a formerly denominational institution still claiming a Christian spirit felt bound to show some official sponsorship of things spiritual. Such a position of religious leadership in any American university today would be an extremely difficult one. Only a positive and liberal attitude towards contemporary social issues can hold the respect of any significant part of the student body, and such an appeal is likely to antagonize the conservative elements in the surrounding community and among the alumni and prospective donors to the endowment.

Dr. Yard adopted the first of the two possible alternatives and made himself a leader of liberal thought among the students. He is a Socialist, a director of the Chicago branches of the American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Industrial Democracy, and he has not hesitated to state his sincere beliefs concerning a Christian attitude on racial, international, and industrial relations. As a result he has been pilloried by the local patriots and blacklisted by the American Legion. President Scott has given as the reasons for Dr. Yard's dismissal the need for economy and the failure of the experiment in central guidance of religious activities for which he was employed. However, as the nature of the failure from the viewpoint of the administration has not been further explained, and the President would probably be the last person to deny that some religious leadership should be provided by the University, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Dr. Yard's release is, as he has charged, a result of the reactionary agitation against him. If so, we regret this further example of coercion of opinion in educational circles. It is an illustration of the contradictions inherent in conservative attempts to provide spiritual guidance for a generation uninterested in any religion which is not socially radical.

More Disloyalty

The ink was hardly dry on our editorial of last week concerning unpatriotic admirals and generals before we were confronted with a disturbing statement by Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee. We suggest that it would be appropriate for our readers to send this patriotic gentleman a marked copy of the Kellogg Pact, as apparently in the rush of official business he has overlooked it. Certainly the following words are highly unpatriotic, in the light of the renunciation of war as an instrument of policy by the government of the United States:

> It must be apparent that if the United States Navy is to be able to *support American policies* [italics ours], protect American trade and defend American possessions, it must be provided with new aircraft carriers, new light cruisers, new destroyers and new submarines. [Calling Admiral von Tirpitz!] The position of our country as a world power and *the strength of our policies* [italics ours] are closely related to the strength of the navy. Without doubt our influence in the Far East has been greatly lessened with the decrease of the strength of the navy, as compared with that of Japan . . . the navy can be built up with an expenditure for new construction of about $63,000,000 per year.

Note that this 63 millions per year is in addition to the 300 millions for current expenses of the navy. And this total expenditure is not for the purpose of repelling invaders of our shores. The preparedness arguments rest upon the frank avowal that armaments are primarily for the purpose of enforcing our national policies. Apparently Mr. Vinson does not take seriously the treaty obligations of his country.

Dr. Matthew and Mr. Woll

If Matthew Woll, in one of his capacities as the leading light of the National Civic Federation, carried on his anti-labor and reactionary activities with a modicum of consistency, we could dismiss him as a negligible factor in American life and let it go at that. But Mr. Woll, like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, turns two aspects to the world, each warring with the other. It is the Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor who has taken up the libertarian torch in a new crusade to prevent the recognition of Soviet Russia. Mr. Woll is quite satisfied, it appears, over the fact that we have recognized Italy, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Peru, and the multitude of other countries where dictatorships prevail. But about the "tyranny" of the Soviet Union he is horrendously alarmed.

Realizing that he and his cohorts of our ultra right wing are up against it, and that the movement for recognition is sweeping the country, Mr. Woll cleverly seeks any port in a storm, and has addressed a letter to Mr. Bainbridge Colby, who, while Secretary of State under President Wilson, formulated our Russian policy of non-recognition. Mr. Colby is giving the epistle

"serious consideration" and will reply. But what if he does? It hardly matters an iota whether he maintains his old position or adopts a new one. What really matters is that the worst aspects of the post-revolutionary terrorism, against which we protested, and rightly so in our judgment, have long since passed; and that these were no worse than those in other countries whose governments were promptly recognized at Washington. The simple truth is that Russian recognition has been withheld for no other reason than the challenge to capitalism implicit and explicit in the Soviet government's program. Recognition, however, as everyone must know, need not imply approval of the Soviet system, any more than our fraternal dickerings with Mussolini imply that we sanction his brutal treatment of minority political groups.

Few issues are of more significance at the moment in world affairs, because entirely apart from the increase of exports likely to eventuate in the case of recognition, which in turn would aid many of our unemployed, the tremendous diplomatic and cultural gap existing between a country so vast and so filled with potentialities as the U.S.S.R. must be filled in unless a constant danger of friction and war is to remain. Especially now that the League has stiffened its attitude toward Japan, and Russia is so great a factor in Far Eastern affairs, it is nothing short of suicidal folly to allow an official difference of viewpoint to postpone this elementary step in international good will.

Overthrowing the Government by Force

On Washington's birthday legislative preference was given in the House to a bill that would make it a crime to "advocate the overthrow *or subversion* of the government of the United States by force." On the same day the retiring president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, after paying his disrespects to "idealists, political adventurers, professional charity mongers, social leeches, racketeers," etc., who are influencing taxation, called upon his business-men hearers to unite and take charge of government themselves. "They who can, govern," he said; "they who can't will be eliminated. You will either govern or you will be run out." Here is a plain proposal to subvert the government by force after the fashion of Fascism. If the pending bill should become a law, this prominent business leader would be liable to imprisonment in a federal penitentiary.

We are opposed to the bill in question. We do not believe that this man should be imprisoned merely for wild speech. His words are inflammatory, to be sure; they do tend in a revolutionary direction; but it is better to let revolutionary steam relieve its pressure by blowing off in speech than, by confining it, to increase the probability of explosion. Not until this gentleman commits an overt act of the kind that he now merely contemplates should he be seized by the strong arm of the law.

Progressives Unite!

In an adjoining column in Sunday's New York *Herald Tribune* to Stern's advertisement of nine superb dark mink coats reduced from $995 to $595—"Just nine New York women can have these glorious coats. . . . The price does not even hint at their magnificence"—appears an announcement by Senator Norris that a permanent non-partisan organization of progressives in the Senate and the House is being formed. Disclaiming any intention of starting a third party movement, the Senator from Nebraska listed seven purposes of the proposed national organization, including non-partisan support of progressive legislation, efforts to secure the nomination and election of progressives on both tickets, and a program of education in the press, platform, and radio designed to familiarize voters with the progressive philosophy of government.

We welcome any movement away from the Republican and the Democratic Parties, but we regret that Senator Norris and his colleagues are satisfied with such an utterly inadequate program of economic and political reconstruction. The new deal, which has aroused intense enthusiasm in their midst, now gives promise of taking the form of a Presidential semi-dictatorship, with such stalwarts as William H. Woodin and Daniel C. Roper at the strategic posts of the Treasury and the Department of Commerce. The tragic times in which we are living call for a more radical transformation of capitalism than can be affected by non-partisan support of one of the old parties. We offer felicitations and express regrets!

Nero Fiddled!

The Congressional Record, that perennial source of illumination on the state of the nation, records the following colloquy, which occurred on February 20 during the debate on Federal relief for the unemployed:

> Mr. La Follette: Mr. President, I ask for order in the Chamber. I ask that Senators who are not interested in the misery of millions in the United States retire to the cloakroom to carry on their conversations.
>
> The Vice President (rapping for order): Senators will please be in order. . . .
>
> The Vice President [some moments later] (rapping for order): Senators will please be in order. Senators desiring to carry on conversation will please retire to the cloakroom. . . .
>
> The Vice President [for the third time]: The Senator from Wisconsin has asked for order. Let the Senate be in order.
>
> Mr. La Follette: Mr. President, I hope that the interruptions of this nature will remain in the Record, so that the millions of persons now ground down to the level of paupers

may understand that in the highest legislative body in this land there is no interest in their suffering or their degradation. . . .

Mr. Bulkley [some moments later while Senator Glass was speaking]: Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. Glass: Oh, no; no. I am obliged to the Senator, but I do not want to trouble Senators to come here to hear what I have to say. . . .

The Vice President [some moments later]: The time of the Senator from Virginia has expired.

Mr. Glass: I am glad of it! (Laughter.)

Outside the halls of "the world's greatest deliberative assembly" there is, however, less merriment. The extent and depth of human misery in the United States at this moment is sufficient to stun the imagination of anyone who attempts to comprehend its meaning. It is easy to say that there are upward of 12,000,000 unemployed, perhaps as many as 16,000,000, but to grasp the significance of these figures is impossible. Other millions are able to find work for only one or two or three days per week, and yet more millions who have regular employment are receiving wages that barely afford subsistence.

When the news became public that Congress had authorized the American Red Cross to distribute free some 85,000,000 bushels of wheat, the demand was so heavy that flour actually was given to 4,750,400 families. On a basis of four persons to a family this means that 19,000,000 individuals received free flour from the Red Cross. Out of 3,075 counties in the whole of the United States, only 116 failed to make requests for flour. The allotment was "one barrel of flour for 90 days, for a family of four or five." In testifying at the hearings on the La Follette-Costigan bill, John Barton Payne, chairman of the Red Cross, said: "We have been supplying about 20 per cent only of the need."

Dr. Winslow, of the United States Children's Bureau, presented figures showing an extraordinary increase in relief expenditures throughout the country, and pointed out that in 1931 less than 29 per cent of the total expenditures for public relief came from private gifts, the remainder coming from public funds, while in 1932 the proportion derived from private contributions dropped to 21 per cent. In 108 cities the average relief payment has been $19 per month per family, which means 16 cents per day per person for a family of four. And multitudes of persons are existing in terrible privation without receiving any relief whatever.

The National Consumers' League has been forced to discontinue the issuance of its White List of candy manufacturers maintaining conditions fulfilling the minimum requirements of the League. One condition was a minimum wage of $14 per week—which means $728 for an entire year if no time is lost. The list has been discontinued because no manufacturers are now paying this minimum wage, or even the $12.60 which the Consumers' League was willing to set as the minimum. In the textile industry wages are frequently below $10 per week. The Pennsylvania Department of Labor reports that in the textile and clothing industries half the women are earning less than $7 per week, and 20 per cent of them less than $5 per week. The unemployed man who gets a job at 25 cents per hour is likely to consider himself an aristocrat of labor. The wolf is at the door of millions of American homes.

Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to suggest the absence of a quorum?

Once in an hour of tragedy, Nero fiddled!

What Next in the Far East?

Enormous significance must be attached to the expressed willingness of the government of the United States to coöperate with the Advisory Committee set up by the Assembly of the League to guide its policy with relation to Japan. This Advisory Committee is composed of the members of the Committee of Nineteen, plus Canada and the Netherlands, as signatories of the Nine Power Pact, and invitations have been extended to Soviet Russia and the United States to accept membership on the committee. The announcement by the State Department means that the entire world, with the single exception of Soviet Russia, whose reply has not yet reached the League, is lined up solidly against Japan's aggressive policy in Manchuria and North China, and their recent resumption of relations with China leaves no room for doubt as to the attitude of the Russians.

The action of the British government in clamping down an embargo on arms to both Japan and China seems to us to be a step in the right direction. To the argument that this procedure really penalizes China since Japan is much better equipped to furnish her own war supplies, we would respond that China has no chance whatever of winning if she submits the final outcome to the arbitrament of battle and that her position would be immeasurably stronger if she refrained entirely from offering armed resistance. If China will rely exclusively upon world pressure against Japan, along moral, diplomatic, and economic lines, the latter will have no chance whatever of retaining her hold upon Manchuria or other portions of Chinese territory. Only the blindest of the blind can fail to see the futility of a highly vulnerable nation defying the moral judgment and economic interests of a world combination of powers. The exploding bombs and flying shells of the Japanese army will prove to be as ineffective a method of securing permanent possession of the territories now being invaded as would be an endeavor to blast away the rocks of Gibraltar by firing dried peas from an air rifle. In an interdependent world of highly industrialized nations military power must yield to inexorable economic and political pressure.

Big Banks Are Swallowing Industry

Senator George W. Norris, On February 22 and 23, 1933

I DESIRE at this point to give a list of eight leading banks in New York City, as follows: Bank of America National Association, Bank of Manhattan Trust Co., Bankers' Trust Co., Chase National Bank, Chemical Bank & Trust Co., Guaranty Trust Co., National City Bank Co., New York Trust Co. . . .

The eight banks on the list I have given have 287 directorships in insurance companies; they have 301 directorships in other banks. . . . 521 directorships in public-utility companies. . . . 585 directorships in railroad, steamship, and airplane transportation companies . . . directorships in 846 manufacturing companies. . . . These eight banks have 1,201 directorships in other corporations, *making a total of 3,741 directorships held by the eight banks in various corporations.*

Now I want to take a little larger list of banks. I am going to include these eight and add enough more to include 24 banks and trust companies in New York, and, so that any student who may want to examine into the question may have a little more detail, I will give the names of these 24 banks which I use in this illustration. They are the American Exchange Securities Corporation; Anglo-South American Trust Co.; Bancamerica-Blair Corporation; Bank of America, National Association; Bank of Manhattan Trust Co.; Bank for Savings in the City of New York; Bankers' Trust Co.; Bronx County Trust Co.; Brooklyn Trust Co.; Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co.; Chase National Bank; Chemical Bank & Trust Co.; City Bank Farmers' Trust Co.; Corn Exchange Bank & Trust Co.; First National Bank, City of New York; Guaranty Trust Co. of New York; Halsey Stuart & Co.; Irving Trust Co.; Lisman Trust Co.; Manufacturers' Trust Co.; Marine Midland Trust Co.; National City Bank of New York; New York Trust Co.; Title Guaranty & Trust Co.

Mr. President, *these banks have 6,250 directorships in various corporations,* including other banks. . . .

The Chase National Bank, of New York City, as shown by the chart, has 82 directors. They are named on the chart. It has in transportation companies 133 directorships; it has 236 directorships in manufacturing corporations. . . . The bank has 59 directorships in other banks. . . . That bank has 73 directorships in public-utility corporations. . . . They have 82 directorships in insurance companies. . . . The Chase National Bank also has 262 directorships on miscellaneous corporations, some of the most important corporations in the United States. . . .

I have here a chart outlining in a somewhat similar way the interlocking connection, through directorships, of the house of Morgan. J. P. Morgan & Co. have 19 partners. Here are seven banks and trust companies—in reality eight, because there are two in one or two places—known as Morgan banks. They are not the only banks that are controlled, at least partially by the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., but they are outstanding ones. They consist of the Bank for Savings in New York City; the Bankers' Co. and the Bankers' Trust Co.; the Corn Exchange Bank & Trust Co., of New York; the Fidelity Trust Co., of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Girard Trust Co., of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York; and the New York Trust Co. . . .

The House of Morgan directly, through these banks I have named and which the house of Morgan controls, has 219 directorships in other banks; and Morgan has, in the same way, 642 directorships in miscellaneous corporations. The house of Morgan has 215 directorships in insurance companies. It has 425 directorships in manufacturing and mining companies. It has 423 directorships in transportation companies. It has 318 directors in public-utility companies. This makes a total of 2,242 directorships held directly by the Morgan banks in the various kinds of corporations that I have named. . . .

If I had a chart large enough to contain the names of all the corporations that are directly and indirectly controlled through interlocking directorates by these eight banks, and if it were big enough so that you could read it, there is not a wall space in the Senate Chamber that would hold it. . . .

Mr. President, we are gradually reaching a time, if we have not already reached that period, when the business of the country is controlled by men who can be named on the fingers of one hand, because those men control the money of the Nation, and that control is growing at a rapid rate. . . . Mr. President, how long are we to stand for that? How much longer will we stand for it before we realize that we are just hired men of corporations; that we are just slaves; that we have nothing to say about anything that shall be done unless we get the consent of some great big corporation which through its interlocking directorates controls practically every avenue of human activity?

[*Editors' Note: We are strongly convinced that efforts to remove the social menace of excessive concentration of money power by tightening up banking laws will remain ineffective. Socialized banking and socialized industry alone will prove to be adequate.*]

Class War and Religion

KIRBY PAGE

THAT coercion is both necessary and ethical under many circumstances was the thesis supported in my article of last week. If reverence for personality, the principle of mutuality, active goodwill, and love toward God and man constitute the essence of high religion, then in many situations in an imperfect world, compulsion becomes a religious obligation.

May class war likewise be defended on ethical and religious grounds? Is there no moral distinction between coercion and killing? Are imprisonment and electrocution essentially alike? Is taxation closely akin to revolutionary confiscation of property? Does the enforcement of traffic rules rest upon the same foundation as the maintenance by violence and terror of a proletarian dictatorship?

To return to an illustration previously used, is physical restraint of a son by a father the same thing in principle as would be the taking of the boy's life? No, emphatically no, is my answer. The deliberate killing of a son to protect a daughter raises a fundamentally different question. Forcible coercion is not necessarily a violation of the law of love, but I find it impossible to reconcile the intentional slaughter of any human being with the religious principle of reverence for personality, that is, respect for the personality of the dead man. Nor does active goodwill or the principle of mutuality justify the willful taking of human life.

But what is demanded by the principle of respect for the personality of the daughter? Is the life of her brother more sacred than her own? Here we are confronted with the all-important question of an ethical strategy on the part of the innocent in dealing with the guilty. The opinion has been almost universal and is still widespread that, in order to protect helpless people, the killing of criminal men is not only ethically justifiable but actually obligatory. Indeed the entire protective and penal system of modern society at present is founded upon this assumption.

This basic concept seems to me to be wholly at variance with the religion of Jesus. He summed up his way of life in the language of the two preëminent commandments, and sought to erect the Divine Society—the Family of God—upon the foundations of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Every person is a child of God and a brother of man. Therefore personality is the supreme value, and should be regarded as an end and not merely as a means to an end. Brother should act toward brother in ways that are consistent with brotherhood. If coercion of every kind is an inherent denial of the family spirit, then it is immoral. But if certain types and degrees of compulsion represent true expressions of brotherly affection, coercion may ennoble personality. If the killing of a brother is an act which in its very essence is alien to and destructive of the family bond, then it is ethically unjustifiable.

From the perspective of high religion, the authorization of the police to kill a fleeing thief is a grossly immoral procedure. Property is thus elevated above personality. And if the observation be made that the inviolability of private property is necessary to the enrichment of personality in general, and that the refusal to kill robbers would encourage thieving and thus jeopardize all property, the rejoinder may be offered that any society which can protect its property only by shooting or hanging its offenders stands morally condemned. Before a just society can be established the property system and the penal code of such a social order must be radically transformed.

IF the principle is accepted that killing in defense of property and life is valid and mandatory, armed preparedness for war follows automatically. In an endeavor to safeguard the inviolability of property rights and human life on the high seas, the United States entered the World War, and to this day millions of patriotic citizens believe that our loss of 100,000 soldiers and the expenditure of 25 billion dollars was not only justifiable but unavoidable. That the navy is maintained at its present level for the purpose of protecting our sea-borne traffic and safeguarding our property in foreign lands, far more than for the purpose of keeping our shores from being invaded and our fellow citizens from being murdered, is an argument that runs like a crimson thread through the literature of armed preparedness.

Emphasis upon the social menace of the doctrine of defensive killing does not, however, excuse us from the necessity of facing squarely this supremely significant question: If a father is confined within the limits of the alternatives of taking his son's life or witnessing the death of his daughter at the hands of his son, what would be his religious duty? If non-killing fails to protect property and life, what is the way out for society? For me the answer of religion is clear: Seek to protect the innocent by reliance upon methods which are consistent with deep reverence for the personality of the wrongdoer; resort to that kind and degree of restraint or compulsion which is warranted by this principle; run

the consequent risks and accept whatever penalties are thereby imposed.

And if you say that such a policy would result in suffering and death for many innocent persons, I will make a triple rejoinder. The struggle between innocence and guilt necessarily results in misery and loss of life regardless of the methods and weapons used. Second, the existing penal code and the war system of armed preparedness to slaughter the guilty, and the eventual resort to armed hostilities, produce far more pain and cause more deaths among the innocent than would be the case if the doctrine of defensive killing were abandoned. Third, it is morally preferable for the innocent to die at the hands of the guilty than to save their own lives by slaying the offenders. Retaliatory killing is provocative and tends to be self-perpetuating. The willingness of the innocent to die rather than to kill may be redemptive.

CLEAR thinking on this subject must be based upon a realization that suffering and even death are inseparable from social conflict. For milleniums the endeavor has been made to safeguard life by preparedness to use violence, with results that are written in blood across the centuries. The periods in English history when the law was most ruthless and a hundred capital offenses were punishable by death were the decades when property and life were most imperilled. In our own day we have seen that ruthlessness on the part of the police increases public insecurity and multiplies the homicide rate. Capital punishment is not an effective deterrent to crime. On the contrary, by cheapening the value of human life and brutalizing the public mind, electrocution or hanging is likely to imperil society, rather than to safeguard it. Likewise, the historic effort to preserve life by going to battle has proved to be a horrible failure, and nothing could be more menacing to humanity than continued reliance upon war—on land, under the sea, and in the sky. The case against defensive killing is cumulative and overwhelming.

Exceptions to the rule do not invalidate the general principle that restraint by capital punishment or warfare is grossly ineffective and highly perilous. Even if individual cases may be cited where innocent persons were protected by slaying the offender, it still remains probable that the general practice of killing in self-defense has increased enormously the toll of victims. Innocent people will be murdered as long as society is imperfect, and the common sense thing to do is to select from among defense methods that are consistent with high religion those which are most likely to accomplish the desired end. Complete rejection of the practice of executing offenders would spur society forward in the search for more effective non-violent means of restraining the lawless.

And of the utmost significance is the fact that even if dependence on non-violent coercion resulted in the death of as many innocent persons as would be killed by taking up weapons of violence, the social consequences would be utterly different. To kill your enemy or to lay down your own life rather than slay a wrongdoer alike result in the death of an individual, but the social consequences will not be the same. If Mr. Gandhi would starve himself to death in an endeavor to coerce his opponents into the abandonment of evil policies, his action may be called violence, as was done by Professor Coe in an earlier article in this periodical on *What Is Violence?* But such an act would possess an utterly different quality from the murder of an exploiter or oppressor. When Indian nationalists in their non-violent resistance to British rule permit themselves to be beaten prostrate to the ground without retaliatory acts on their part, they are exhibiting coercion and suffering in a form that is not provocative but redemptive. Preparedness to kill perpetuates violence, and fails to afford security to the innocent. Repudiation of the principle of defensive killing and reliance upon ethical means of resistance are imperative if the vicious circle of taking life in order to save life is to be broken. And so religious idealism, as I understand it, rules out voluntary killing of evildoers.

Thus it appears to me that there is a fundamental distinction between coercion and killing, between imprisonment and electrocution, between international non-military sanctions and armed hostilities, between economic-political compulsion and violent class war.

IN a previous article I stated the case for coercive restraint on the part of the victims of exploitation and oppression, and expressed the opinion that in numerous situations in an imperfect society religious idealism must express itself through compulsion. The cumulative evidence leaves no room for doubt in my mind that effective pressure against the injustice inflicted by the owning class requires collective action on the part of the workers by hand and brain. Class consciousness has already been developed to a fine art by owners and employers. One has only to listen to the conversations of business men to be impressed with the degree to which they are dominated by the traditions, emotions, practices and institutions of their class. Moreover, they are prepared to act collectively, through huge accumulations of capital, through an elaborate network of employers' associations and trade agencies, and through control of local, state and national government. The economic and political power—and therefore police and military force—at the disposal of the owning class is almost illimitable, and is wielded with a ruthless determination to maintain privilege, prestige and power.

In such a situation is is surely futile for the workers to expect justice unless they are prepared to exert effective pressure against their oppressors. Class solid-

arity is therefore an indispensable prerequisite to the creation of an equitable social order. The class consciousness of the owners and their collective determination not to relinquish their privileged status impose upon the workers the necessity of class consciousness and class struggle on their part. Justice may be secured only by the payment of a great price, a terrific and prolonged conflict.

Must class conflict necessarily assume the form of violent class war if it is to free the workers from the yoke of exploitation? Here we come to the parting of the ways for Communists and Socialists; perhaps one should say Socialists like Norman Thomas and the leaders of the Socialist Party of the United States, as well as those who dominate the British Labor Party. Communists believe that privilege and power cannot be wrested from the owning class without a violent combat and the resort to armed hostilities, while Socialists accept the class conflict as a reality, but reject violent class war, putting their reliance instead in economic and political coercion. As a Socialist, it is my deep conviction that a comprehensive program of economic and political action, without resorting to armed hostilities, offers far more hope of creating an equitable social order in the United States than is presented by a strategy of class warfare. In a subsequent discussion, to be published on April 5 at the conclusion of a series of articles on the American scene, I shall outline at greater length an economic and political program of deliverance for the American working class.

LET us now examine the Communist method of attempting the overthrow of American capitalism. (Perhaps I should explain that throughout this discussion I have in mind the Communist method as advocated and exhibited by Soviet Russia and other members of the Third International, rather than that of the theoretical Communists recently referred to by Professor Coe who use the term "war" in a figurative sense. Certainly Wm. Z. Foster in his *Toward Soviet America* speaks of class war with the utmost literalness.) Four aspects of this problem deserve emphasis. First, the probable time required to carry through the violent seizure of power. Second, the probable duration of the dictatorship by terror before the population could be trained in Communist thinking and before Communist institutions could be firmly established. Third, the economic consequences of violent class warfare and dictatorship. Fourth, the ethical and religious significance inherent in armed hostilities on the class front.

Communists lay stress upon the fact that it is not necessary to enlist a majority of the workers in order to seize power. They place their reliance in a disciplined and resolute minority of class-conscious workers who have been trained and equipped to seize strategic institutions, such as power plants, railway terminals, banks, government offices, postoffices, telephone and telegraph offices, grain elevators and other food centers, steel mills and other giant productive units. But in a country as vast as the United States, with as many populous and strategic centers, a huge proletarian army would be required. The national army and navy, national guard, municipal police forces, The American Legion, The Veterans of Foreign Wars and similar bodies may be relied upon to fight to the last ditch against a Communist dictatorship. Even in the fourth winter of acute economic misery, scarcely a dent has been made by radical revolutionaries in the mass of unemployed workers, while traces of revolutionary infection among soldiers and sailors are imperceptible. To interpret the tax protests of farmers and their organized resistance to mortgage foreclosures in terms of a genuine revolutionary movement that would support a Communist seizure of power is to labor under a grotesque illusion.

The economic and political power of the owning class is terrific, and in no country in the world would industrialists and financiers resort to more ruthless efforts to suppress a revolutionary uprising than in the United States. And if the economic structure collapses within the near future, the people of this country will not turn to radical leadership. On the contrary, in a panic of fear, they will consent to the establishment of some form of Fascist dictatorship by property owners. That the Communists will carry through successfully a revolutionary seizure of power in this country within the next decade seems to me an utterly fantastic prophecy, and that we shall see a Communist regime in the United States within twenty or thirty years appears wholly improbable.

MOREOVER, if such a dictatorship were established, it would for at least a generation be threatened with overthrow, and the degree of violence and terror required to liquidate counter-revolutionaries would be far greater than has been the case in Soviet Russia. The concepts of democracy, individual liberty and freedom of movement are so deeply implanted in the minds of Americans that the imposition of dictatorial measures in industry, commerce and agriculture would encounter far more opposition than in many other countries. Determined resistance to enforced regimentation would be manifested by manual workers, farmers and members of the middle class of clerical and professional men and women. The compulsory collectivization of agriculture would require many decades of ruthlessness, as the much larger proportion of "kulaks" in this country would necessitate more severity than has been meted out to the richer peasants in Russia.

Realism at this point is highly imperative. Much loose talk has been going the rounds to the effect that, while violence is unethical, the revolution cannot be

ushered in without a "final push" of armed force. Let us be clear as to what is involved. If this "final push" is to make possible the seizure of power, it must be executed with weapons that are equal to or superior to those used by the owning class. Hasty improvisations for the final battle would merely result in ghastly slaughter of the workers. Even a general strike, accompanied by rioting and street fighting, would not dispossess the present holders of economic power. Successful seizure of power requires a disciplined revolutionary army which is equipped with modern weapons of battle and supported with adequate quantities of munitions and other military supplies. This means that revolutionary violence can be made effective only by years of armed preparedness. The notion that the workers can overthrow capitalism by a last minute "final push" is utter nonsense. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that seizure of power will remain impossible as long as the army continues loyal to the old regime.

Thus the evidence appears incontestable that preparation for violent revolution, actual seizure of power, and establishment of a Communist regime on a permanent basis in the United States will require at least thirty or forty years. And so the frequently repeated criticism of the Socialist program as being too slow in its operation loses much of its significance. The inescapable truth is that by no possible combination of methods can a really equitable social order be created within one or two decades. In Soviet Russia, where the opposition to Communism has been much feebler than would be the case in the United States, workers and peasants alike are still suffering acute physical privation, after 15 years under a revolutionary regime. The belief that poverty, exploitation and injustice can speedily be abolished by violent revolution is sheer romanticism and has no roots in reality.

MOREOVER, the social consequences of prolonged civil war in a highly industrialized nation would be devastating beyond imagination. The degree of interdependence of the people in an urban civilization and the destructiveness of chemical and aerial warfare would transform congested areas into infernos. The demolition and dislocation of an infinitely complex productive and distributive system would quickly produce hunger and starvation on an appalling scale in metropolitan communities. Modern warfare is ghastly beyond exaggeration, and civil war among industrial populations is the most diabolical form of conflict. With abundant reason, therefore, does Reinhold Niebuhr write: "If violence can be justified at all, its terror must have the tempo of a surgeon's skill and healing must follow quickly upon its wounds." And with equal justification does Niebuhr utterly repudiate the Communist strategy of violent class warfare.

The ethical and religious case against revolutionary violence is made even more conclusive when we recognize the part played by hatred in Communist tactics. Not class solidarity alone, but class hatred is deliberately engendered as necessary to effective hostility against the owning class. Communist literature abounds with direct incitations to hatred and every effort is made to infuriate the workers into armed rebellion against their oppressors. Class enmity must take the form of suppressing all opposition. "Under the dictatorship," writes Wm. Z. Foster, Communist candidate for President of the United States, "the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses." That virulent hatred and enmity are irreconcilable with high religion seems obvious beyond dispute.

My conclusion, then, is that the Socialist program of persuasion and social coercion through economic and political pressure is more consistent with religious idealism than any other method which offers hope of building a just social order; and that the Communist strategy of violent class war is pragmatically indefensible and morally unjustifiable.

AND now a concluding question must be faced: What should be the attitude of truly religious persons toward the workers, if in desperation they resort to armed action in an endeavor to secure justice? My own answer is clear and unequivocal. I am on the side of the victims of exploitation and injustice, and make no pretense of being neutral in the class conflict. I have been endeavoring to make my position clear that under no circumstances will I participate in armed warfare, whether it be international or class warfare. Moreover, I will never sanction or approve any kind of armed hostilities. But this must not be interpreted as meaning that I will forsake the exploited masses. I am on their side, even if they follow the fatal example of their oppressors and resort to retaliatory violence. A Belgian pacifist who refused to take up arms against Germany did not thereby assume an attitude of neutrality, but chose to express his loyalty to Belgium in higher ways than by killing Germans. Such a man was not acting as a parasite, profiting by the suffering of his countrymen. Likewise, it is possible for a non-violent revolutionist to refrain from participating in or sanctioning armed hostilities, without abandoning his loyalty to the workers. Being convinced that all armed warfare is ineffective and unethical, a radical religious pacifist should refrain from hatred and murder, and should depend utterly upon persuasion and ethical forms of coercion, being willing to run risks and accept consequences while coöperating to the utmost with a loving and suffering God, who through the ages has been endeavoring to create a just and harmonious Fellowship of Kinsmen.

When British Students Assemble

JAMES C. RETTIE

THERE is no doubt that the praises of Edinburgh will be sung by the majority of the people who attended the recent Quadrennial Conference of the British Student Christian Movement in that city. It is my conviction, however, that this conference contained more than its quota of dangers, and I shall endeavor to point out some of them.

Canon Barry properly informed the conference at the beginning that the most urgent business on the agenda of the Christian churches is the development of the Christian ethic in the economic enterprise of our time. This is manifestly true, but in the conference the imperative to get on with the task was largely obscured by a move toward the pursuit of some anonymous, individual, religious gratification. Canon Barry's words were hardly cold before a speaker was advising his youthful hearers upon the ways by which they might find God. To imagine that any one of us can satisfactorily find God in the midst of this unregenerate society is, of course, one of the vagaries of Protestantism which continues to defeat any possibility of its moral unity. This particular speaker warned his hearers that they would never find God "in the poisonous fumes of class antagonism." With this I will agree, but it presents a far more difficult problem than this professor of theology was willing to admit. The brutal fact is that the mass of people in our time cannot believe in God because the venom of the economic conflict belies His very existence for them. To counsel the proletarians that they must seek God and avoid the class conflict in which their everyday existence is at stake, is tantamount to advising them to depart from this life.

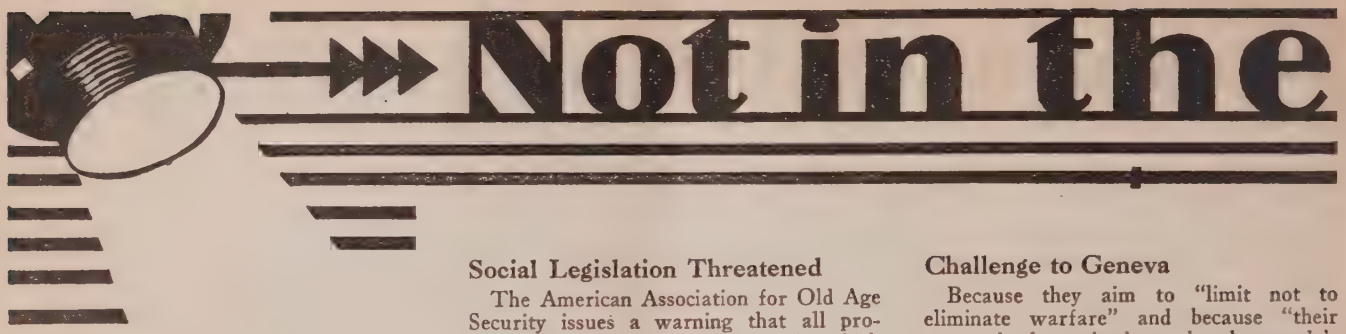
If those of us who have been endowed with privilege hope to find a God who is not a caricature of justice, the first prerequisite is that we relinquish our privileges by bringing society somewhere near to the equalitarian brotherhood which is proclaimed in the Gospels. The point of my objection is that God in his moral sense will never be known by any of us until this class warfare is resolved. Those who aspire to find Him, as they fondly imagine, outside of the conflict are still seeking a bourgeois god who has resigned all moral sovereignty over the economic and political life of men.

The conference considered Communism, but certainly not as adequately as Communism deserves to be considered. Its important economic aspects were dismissed as being of minor relevance, and great attention was given to its religious features. The result was that Communism was thrown into relief as a "challenge," and this obviously meant a variety of things to the people there. For most of the conference, which was of quite conventional mind, Communism appeared to be a threat to the whole Christian assumption. But for a few it appeared to be a "God-sent punishment upon a lame and degenerate Christianity." The real "challenge" to Christianity lay in the seducing influence of contemporary civilization, and Communism has arisen to meet that challenge when the Christian community was too impotent to raise any effective protest. A speaker from the Continent declared that Western Christianity had succumbed to the influence of the "bourgeois mind," and that now the time had come when it must divorce itself from that type of mentality. His was a voice crying in the wilderness. Most of his fellow-speakers proceeded to revive Reformation theology with a vengeance, apparently oblivious to the writings of Weber and Tawney.

At the certain risk of being accused of unfairness, one perhaps should recall specifically other points at which the "bourgeois mind" displayed itself. We were told by one speaker that Indian nationalism is quite "non-moral". He neglected to call attention, however, to the even more "non-moral" phenomenon that is enshrined in the Scottish War Memorial on the hill just above the conference hall where the whole nefarious enterprise of 1914-1918 is emblazoned with all the sanctions of Christianity.

THERE were those who declared that our religion must divorce itself in fact and in spirit from the political and economic influence which governments exercise over subject peoples. But quite in opposition to such a policy, one of the platform speakers discounted the alleged evils of imperialism and pointed with satisfaction to the close coöperation which exists between the missions and the government of one colony in Africa. This man went so far as to say that a Christian might be called to go abroad as a missionary, as a government servant, or as a commercial agent and that any one of these might be in accordance with the will of God. Surely this is the doctrine of divine callings in its most uncritical form.

Apart from the religious dilettante who finds "all these points of view so interesting" or the student too immature to know what was taking place, the conference must have been a confusing experience. Certainly it failed to accomplish that "most important business on its agenda," the development of the Christian ethic for the complex life of our day.



The Harm of Wage Cuts

"Unless we set minimum wages we will see industry on a vicious downward spiral," Dr. Eveline M. Burns, professor of economics at Columbia University, told an audience at a luncheon held under auspices of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. to discuss the breakdown of work standards. She was followed by Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League, who said, "If we are ever going to get anywhere we will have to have regulatory powers, some kind of social control. We can't leave it to the employer group, unless we stay behind and stir them on." Miss Mary Dreier, a member of the board, revealed that girls in a Massachusetts shoe factory were required to pay for drinking water, that a girl worker in a Pennsylvania pretzel factory earned 93 cents one week and paid $1 carfare to and from work, while another girl in the same state received 23 cents in a clothing factory for sewing in 200 trousers pockets; another girl who paid $10 to an employment agency got a job she was told would be permanent. The job actually lasted four days at 20 cents an hour. Miss Schneiderman held chambers of commerce responsible for encouraging fly-by-night employers who are driving down wage standards. She told of wage drops in the textile industry from $19.75 a week in 1929 to $11.50 in 1932.

Consumers in Morocco

With a view to the development of the Consumers' Movement in Morocco, the National Federation of French Consumers' Societies recently organized, in collaboration with the Coöperative Union of Algiers, a series of preliminary propaganda meetings at Fez, Kenitra, Rabat, Casablanca and Marrakesh. As the result of the meetings, which were extremely successful, provisional Committees have been set up in each of the towns to examine the actual conditions under which Consumers' Societies could be established and to collect the necessary subscriptions. There already exists in Morocco a Railway Employees' Coöperative Society with an annual turnover of five million francs, which has signified its willingness to associate itself with the campaign.

Social Legislation Threatened

The American Association for Old Age Security issues a warning that all protective laws and social standards which have taken more than a generation to put on the statute books are in serious danger. Under the guise of taxpayers' associations, "Defenders of America," and other patriotically titled societies, as well as through manufacturers' associations and chambers of commerce, a systematic campaign is on to intimidate the press, the governors, and the state legislatures into repealing all humane social legislation. A number of governors who posed as friends of the workers and aged during the recent campaign have already suggested the wiping out of this very legislation. Vigorous opposition alone will save what little social legislation exists.

International Bartér

Barter between nations is proceeding on a huge scale. The London Chamber of Commerce has announced plans for barter with 35 countries. In Germany, the Krupps have traded machinery for Danish cows; the Dye Trust has traded its products for Hungarian wheat; Chile is bartering potash for American wheat; Turkey is buying guns with figs and currants. Other barter agreements are reported between France and Latvia, Norway and Russia, Poland and Austria, and Esthonia and Jugoslavia.

Those Long-Lived Veterans

On June 30, 1931, there were still on the pension rolls of the United States eight widows of veterans of the War of 1812. Excluding extreme old age, we must assume a drummer boy about 14 years old taking part in the war, marrying at the age of 72 a girl of 18. Such a girl would now be 80 years old and born 38 years after the War of 1812 was all over.

Canada's Foreign-Born

Of the total population of Canada, 10,376,786, those who are foreign born number 2,307,525. Of this number 1,154,099 were British born. The largest percentage of foreign-born residents is in British Columbia where they number 319,529 out of a total population of 694,263. Toronto has the largest foreign-born population of any city in Canada. The population of Toronto proper is 631,207 and the foreign-born residents number 238,212. Montreal is second with a foreign-born population of 147,401 and Vancouver third with 118,197.

Challenge to Geneva

Because they aim to "limit not to eliminate warfare" and because "their course is determined not by the people's desire for peace and disarmament but by the wrangling and bargaining of military and armament experts over the arms to be retained," international disarmament conferences have so far failed, according to a joint message sent to the President recently by the Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament; The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States section; The National Fellowship of Reconciliation; The Women's Peace Society and The Women's Peace Union of New York. The message cited the "crushing fear and economic misery that are the inevitable result of modern arms" and called on the President to instruct the American delegates to the Geneva Conference "to propose a multilateral treaty for immediate, total disarmament." "The bridge," the groups state, "must be built, not half way, but all the way across the abyss of war."

Garrett Library

During the last four months of 1932, the Ayres Loan Library of Garrett Biblical Institute sent out 130 packages of books, each package containing from one to six volumes. Pastors all over the country are served by the loan library at only the cost of postage for the books. The class of 1931 made its gift to Garrett in the form of books for the loan library. Ensuing classes have followed this precedent and the services of the library now exceed those of some libraries devoted especially to this field. More than $25,000 in pledges has been received by the Institute from its alumni all over the country since August 1, according to a recent announcement by President Horace G. Smith. About 470 alumni all over the country have responded to the school's plea for support.

Nebraska Wesleyan Cuts Fees

No laboratory, library, book or student activity fees appeared on the tuition bills of students at Nebraska Wesleyan University at the beginning of the second semester. In an effort to adjust college costs to student finances the university has abolished them. The expenses formerly covered by these fees will now be met from the regular tuition, which remains at $75 per semester. Nebraska Wesleyan is also opening a student dining room where the undergraduate will be able to obtain all his meals for $45 per semester.

Headlines

Canada's Unemployed

Out of a total population of 10,500,000 Canada has 750,000 unemployed. These figures were reported to the Canadian Political Science Association by three professors of the University of Toronto. The Minister of Trade and Commerce has questioned the accuracy of these figures, but has offered no convincing rebuttal in the shape of more accurate statistics.

British Labor Membership

The aggregate membership of all British unions at the end of 1931 was 4,610,768, as compared with 4,824,445 in 1930. This drop is due largely to losses in the railroad, mining and quarrying, iron and steel, and wool industries, and may be attributed entirely to unemployment.

No Lynching in 40 States

Forty states of the Union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, as shown by the honor roll of states free from the evil, announced recently by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches. In publishing the list Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary, said: "In 1932 there were 40 states that held places on the honor roll of the Federal Council of Churches through having a record of freedom from lynching during the year. This is an increase of one state over 1930 and over 1931; it is three fewer than 1929. The honor roll lists the following states as free of the lynching evil last year according to available records: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Nevada, North Dakota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Cooperative Films

According to the most recent information received by the International Coöperative Alliance, the National Coöperative Organizations in 21 countries at present own 160 Coöperative Propaganda Films, a large number of which can be adapted for use in different countries. Forty-four of these films illustrate the development of the Coöperative Productive Enterprises in seven countries.

Keystone State Jobless Organize

Aroused by the Pinchot commissary plan, which proposes to reduce relief allotments to 48 cents a person a week, Pennsylvania jobless are organizing on a large scale. More than 400 evictions have been stopped by organized unemployed in Philadelphia. Allentown jobless have aided farmers to prevent evictions. More than 2,000 Allentown unemployed paraded recently. In Reading the unemployed have also linked up with the farmers through the Taxpayers' Defense Association. Reading exservicemen, the Central Labor Union and the unemployed are allied for adequate relief, union rights and public ownership of utilities. A powerful women's auxiliary is active. Pottstown and Pottsville have also seen the swift organization of the unemployed.

Bury 30-Hour Week Bill

The labor committee of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives has buried the 30-hour week bill introduced by Socialist Representative Lillith Wilson in a subcommittee composed exclusively of Grundy-controlled legislators. The labor committee had rebelled against their own chairman by refusing to commit the unemployment insurance and 30-hour week bills of Socialist members to subcommittee. Reactionary members of the committee received strict instructions from their leaders to attend all meetings of the committee, with the result that the committee buried the 30-hour bill with the largest attendance in its history.

For Cash Trading

Following the resolution passed by the last Congress of the Union of German Economic Societies urging its affiliated Societies to do everything in their power to maintain the principle of cash trading and to take action for the recovery of outstanding debts, a large number of German Consumers' Societies in Czecho-Slovakia have been taking steps to limit and, wherever possible, to abolish the practice of credit trading.

Centralized Buying

A saving of $5,350,000 could be achieved in the annual expenditures for supplies, material and equipment of New York City through the installation of centralized purchasing, it is estimated by Dr. Russell Forbes, secretary of the National Municipal League, who has just completed a survey of the present purchasing methods of the city government.

Sacrificing the Schools

Education has been made to suffer worse setbacks in the United States than in the schools of 40 other nations, during the worldwide economic depression. This evidence of the leadership of America in the retreat from modern standards of public duty in the schooling of children has been gathered by the United States Office of Education, in a survey made by Dr. James F. Abel, chief of its foreign school systems division. Over the past five years, answers to the questionnaire disclose, school expenditures by 15 Latin-American countries, 14 European, three Asiatic, three African countries, Newfoundland, the nine Canadian provinces, New Zealand and the six states of Australia, were reduced less than were school budgets in the United States. Details were given as to school attendance, number of classes, number of schools, size of classes, number of teachers, building program, etc.

Breadlines Only Future?

Capitalism, like Dante's hell, ought to have a sign over the door: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." For many of the workers thrown out of jobs by the depression will never again find work, according to John Ballenger, head of the Detroit Welfare Commission. "It is inevitable in the present breakdown that many people who have been prevented from earning their own livelihoods will never again be placed in an independent position," said Ballenger. "Industrialists estimate that men over 40 to 45 years will not be needed again in industry. It is estimated that 25 per cent of the labor that is now available in Detroit will never be re-employed. It is also fair to expect that about 5,000 families will be rendered unemployable or unwanted at the end of this period."

"Buy American"

Congresswoman Florence P. Kahn, of California, decided to do her bit to save the country from foreign goods. She discovered to her great patriotic horror that the chairs in Congress and in the Commerce Department came from Czechoslovakia, and she made a great noise about it. The Czechoslovak envoy thereupon pointed out that Czechoslovak legislators and clerks used almost exclusively American typewriters, American adding machines, and other office equipment, that Czechoslovaks eat California products on table-cloths made of American cotton and that the balance of trade between the United States and Czechoslovakia is two to one in our favor.

Unity and Progress

JOHN DEWEY

IT will be in the interest of continuity, I take it, if I try to make some connection between my own article and that of Dr. Niebuhr which opened this series. My intent, however, is not to write negatively, as would be the case if my article's main purpose and effect were criticism of Dr. Niebuhr's view, with considerable portions of which I am in agreement. I hope to use one aspect of his article as a background for introducing my own analysis, such as it is, of the American political need.

The thing that most strikes me in Dr. Niebuhr's exposition is its implication (provided of course that I read it aright) that a general philosophy of history is a prerequisite of a political analysis which will direct political action. It happens, of course, that European philosophies of history, from the time of St. Augustine's City of God, were of the nature of Christian theodicies. They were intended to justify the ways of God to man as manifested in human history, and specifically to interpret the general course of history as part of the great drama of human sin and final judgment in redemption or condemnation.

As secular interests grew and supernatural interests ebbed, as historical research into particulars developed, interest in a comprehensive philosophical interpretation of history declined. The present-day successors of even the great German idealists of the early nineteenth century, that is, of the men who attempted to translate a theological philosophy of history into metaphysical terms, avoid with virtual universality any attempt to apply their spiritualistic interpretation of the universe to the scene of history. In an extremely interesting way it happened, however, that the real heirs of the idea of a comprehensive philosophy of history were a group of non-Christian and anti-religious thinkers who attempted a comprehensive philosophy of history from the standpoint of economic life. As I read Dr. Niebuhr's article, he is also one who believes that no analysis of political and economic tendencies can be made except upon the basis of an inclusive philosophy of history of economic type. Agreement or disagreement upon this fundamental point will accordingly deeply affect one's whole conception of the method and criterion of political judgment and action.

Dr. Niebuhr makes no reference to a philosophy of history. Lest I be thought guilty of introducing the phrase in a gratuitous and prejudicial manner, let me briefly explain what I mean. He engages in long range views and predictions. He seems to me to predicate political policies for the present upon a conception of what the future is practically sure to be. Amid the confused welter of social phenomena he has no doubt as to what the dominant forces are and what is to be their certain outcome. This is what I mean by basing oneself upon a philosophy of history. It seems to me to reverse the effective procedure in politics. I should begin, if I could, with finding out what are the urgent needs of the present and then try to shape policies to meet those needs. On this basis politics would then be used to help determine the future. Instead of trying to form a present line of policy on the basis of highly dubious forecasts of a long-range future, I would form a conception of what future society might become on the basis of actualities in the present, and then strive to bring this future about. As far as the kind of future to be worked for is concerned, I do not suppose I differ much from Dr. Niebuhr. I should want to see politics used to forward the formation of a genuinely coöperative society, where workers are in control of industry and finance as directly as possible through the economic organization of society itself rather than through any form of superimposed state socialism, and where work ensures not only security, leisure and opportunity for cultural development, but also such a share in control as will contribute directly to intellectual and moral realization of personality. Moreover, I believe that measures which effectively deal with present needs will operate to bring about this social end, and that only such measures will.

IF I am right in my understanding of the tenor of Dr. Niebuhr's article, his reversal of what seems to me the right procedure accounts for what strikes me as a deplorable vagueness about what needs to be done and how to do it. I think any point of view that is more concerned with the question of deciding what will come "after capitalism" than in discovering what needs to be done during the present crisis in capitalism, and how it is to be done, is bound to be vague in spite of whatever is said about the need of "realism". The vagueness is evident, to my mind, not only in what is omitted as to a present working program, but in the oscillation regarding the method by which changes are to come about. On one hand, there is the emphasis on class conflict and struggle, and on the fact that no dominant group gives up power until compelled (connected with a somewhat theological view of collective egoism and the natural depravity of human nature), and on the other hand, there is deprecation of struggle carried to the point of violence and a vague picture of

some future peaceful triumph of social righteousness. I can understand thoroughgoing pacifism, and I can understand the Communistic version of a violent struggle ending in the victory of the proletariat. But Dr. Niebuhr's position escapes me. I mention this point not to charge him with personal inconsistency, but because some such outcome seems to follow naturally from his inverted mode of approach.

It seems to me, then, that the basic question for those who agree upon the necessity of radical transformation of the economic foundations of present society is that of political procedure, of method of action. It is for this reason, as I hope the previous discussion has made clear, that I have conditioned my statement of my own conception of the right mode of attack upon a critical consideration of Dr. Niebuhr's article. The method of considering, on the one hand, urgent needs and ills and measures which will cope with them, and, on the other hand, of forming an idea of the kind of society we desire to bring into existence, which will give continuity of direction to political effort, is very different from that which Dr. Niebuhr criticizes under the name of "liberalism". It has nothing in common with the sentimentalism to which he gives that name. There has been and still is an immense amount of political immaturity and economic illiteracy in the American citizenship, and I am not questioning either the existence or the futility of what Dr. Niebuhr calls liberalism. I am concerned only to point out the irrelevancy of his description and condemnation to the kind of procedure which I am proposing.

I DO not believe there is any great difference among those on the radical and near-radical front (meaning those who believe in the necessity of basic changes in the existing order of society) as to what the urgent needs of the present are. There is, however, still need of a great deal of definite and constructive thinking as to the best measures of dealing with these ills, best from the standpoint of meeting the causes of the trouble and of forwarding a better social order. We must doubtless, in any case, find our way experimentally. But in spite of the immense amount of discussion called out by the acute crisis and tragic breakdown, there is not as yet an adequate consensus, even among those who desire radical measures, as to the definite and precise line of policies to be undertaken. There are experts in many fields who can be enlisted in a consideration of such policies who will balk at subscribing to some ultimate comprehensive social doctrine. There is pressing need of union for consideration and adoption of definite policies and for a united attack in their behalf.

We are confronted with perhaps the most curious political situation the civilized world has ever seen. In the midst of the breakdown, with almost universal criticism of the present order, with a very general acceptance, I should say, by 90 per cent of the intelligent portion of the community, of the need of drastic changes, there is no significant organized political action of a radical sort. Either the American people are so politically inept and incompetent that we are bound to drift into greater chaos, or there has been something wrong in the basic method of approach of those groups that are interested in directing the processes of change. I believe that unity, union of thought and action, is the prerequisite of curing this anomolous condition. I believe that this unity is hindered by the type of view represented in Dr. Niebuhr's article, and that it is attainable on the basis of the two conditions I have mentioned. In the past, especially in the period of "prosperity," it is easy to understand that radical groups should have felt themselves forced away from a policy of action into one of somewhat remote speculation and rationalization. (The economic philosophy of history, with its doctrine of inevitable final change of a specified sort which many Marxians derived from Marx, is a typical rationalization of a condition of immediate powerlessness.)

Because I believe the greatest immediate need is exploration of the possibilities and conditions of unified thought and action on the radical front, I have written as I have. I am not writing in behalf of any particular group or in behalf of any pet conceptions of my own. I fear the consequences if radicals do not combine to work out and work for a definite political program.

The White Man's Progress

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Driftwood or Dynamite

HENRY T. HODGKIN

SHORTLY after its outbreak, H. G. Wells described the Great War as "the tragedy of the weak, though righteous, Christian will." If this generation should witness violent social revolutions in Europe or America it will be entirely appropriate to use the same phrase. There is a mighty lot of goodwill in the world and a large percentage is to be found among the members of Christian churches. The trouble is not so much that it is not "good" enough as that it does not "will" enough. What is lacking is not so much desire as drive.

To put through changes of the magnitude of those which many agree to be necessary today needs more than a correct diagnosis and a suitable prescription. It needs what may perhaps best be called moral dynamite. Where then are the factories from which it may be fetched? The obstacles are stupendous and therefore the supply must be unfailing until the task is accomplished. But it cannot be supplied wholesale: each person must procure his own supply, for it is through dynamic personalities that things happen in this world of persons.

Of course the crowd has its function in revolutions and in progressive movements generally. Too often, in the early stages, the crowd is in the way, opposing by its massive inertia the passion and enthusiasm of the few. Then, when it begins to move, how often does it sweep away good with bad; how ungovernable and unguidable it becomes; how little constructive power it displays! The very cause it has espoused may be retarded by its excesses. Wherefore, it would be well first to concentrate upon the problem of producing dynamic personalities and later to consider the very different one of crowd psychology and mass action.

It has been my lot to meet a number of truly dynamic people. Let me instance three: Hudson Taylor, Sun Yat Sen, Toyohiko Kagawa. The first was the creator of one of the largest missionary societies in the world. He was continually summoning people to new and apparently impossible tasks, and probably influenced more people to dedicate their lives to China than any other half-dozen people you could name. His life was one of tireless devotion to the vision he had of bringing the Gospel of Christ to the 400,000,000 of that country. The second risked his life and staked everything for the ideal he held before him in the rebirth of his nation. His dream took a political form, but it was inspired by a passionate love for his fellowmen, a sympathy with their pains and a belief in their personalities. Through evil report and through good report he remained true to his principles. China has honored his devotion and recognized his intrinsic greatness of soul and will continue to do so even if she does not in every detail adopt his program. The third, happily still with us, is a living example of how a frail body can be galvanized by a dauntless spirit. Utterly careless of the things men usually value—fame, wealth, ease, health, even life itself—he has lived among the poorest of the poor and made their cause his very own. The fire of his great love has well-nigh consumed him. Pouring out the wealth of his own talents for the sake of his weaker brethren, he has won a place in their hearts which no one can take away.

TO contemplate the power which a life such as one of these has had over innumerable other lives almost takes one's breath away. In none of these cases was power due to prestige or social status or money; it was the direct outcome of something in the man himself, or something which came through his personality into the lives of others. In no case was it exercised through domination or violence or threat. Before such persons men have not fallen to be crushed as by a Juggernaut; rather have they risen upon their feet, stronger men and women, and have taken their own line and become in measure, themselves creative personalities.

Looking at these three men, can we put our finger on any of the secrets of their power? I suppose one may at once say that whole-hearted and selfless devotion to a cause is to be found in nearly every such person. A tremendous drive needs the entire concentration of personality, which is all too rare in these days of many interests, when we tend too long to balance the pros and cons and too seldom to make the life commitment. Nor can we fail to see the strength which comes from having not only an all-embracing ideal which tends to enlarge and recede as we approach it, but also a well-defined objective, difficult but achievable, to which the immediate energies can be fully directed. Another factor which it may be even more important to stress is direct contact with bitter need. Too many moral uplifters are content with what they know *about* human need. Once, perhaps, they were sharers in it, but they have become immersed in organization, and now second-hand information is all that reaches them. Anything like removal from the place where the shoe pinches most, where tears are shed and hearts are torn, soon takes the cutting edge off our passion and enthusiasm. We lose drive, even as we

acquire, through a position of trust, power to direct the operation of constructive forces.

FOR my part, I would add another source of this dynamic quality, namely, religion. By religion I mean some sense of linking one's personality with the Being from whom it derives its existence. Often, though not invariably, we discover in persons such as we have been discussing that prayer, a conscious communion with God, plays quite an extraordinarily large place in their lives. There is a great deal of evidence to show that man's personality opens out towards a world of energy and wisdom on which he but rarely draws. The art of drawing richly and continuously upon it is one cultivated by few and one needs a degree of concentration, self-discipline and humility not less than that of the scientist who makes fresh drafts upon natural resources. The Christian will, however righteous, cannot be other than weak until men rediscover the possibilities of prayer, not as making impossible demands upon Providence, but as the opening up of the spirit to Eternal Truth and Energy and Love.

It has been said of Charles I of England by a recent historian that there was "insufficient driving force behind his deeds." The result for him was the executioner's block. Is this a parable for our day? The society, the church, which has insufficient driving force today, becomes the victim of those mighty currents of vested interest, bitter resentment, uncontrolled nationalism, pride and ambition which have wrecked so many fair hopes and are on the way to do the same today. Geneva, with all that it stands for, is typical of the world-struggle. The drift towards chaos, bloodshed, militarism and class-war can only be checked by a terrific drive towards a well-conceived goal employing the aid of men and women of single-hearted devotion and fearless courage, who, keeping very close to actual needs, will draw on all the resources available for energizing our weak wills.

Consider again the persons we have mentioned. We do not find that rare gifts are needed, or great scholarship, or unusual background. What gave them their power is not beyond the reach of what we may call very ordinary people. Each of us, in his own circle, may be a dynamic personality and here and there one such may be called, like Abraham Lincoln, out of the provincial group into a national or international leadership. That is not for us to say, but we may determine whether, in our own sphere, we shall be driftwood or dynamite.

It is not enough to *hope* for such leadership in a world-situation so desperately needing it. Everyone who resists the drift and shares in the great task of putting force and drive into making the world better and happier is doing something towards creating leaders and the kind of society in which they can serve mankind most fruitfully.

Scum of the Race

"SCUM of the race!" Know, out of scum
The world's enduring heroes come.
An amaranthine hero needs
Kinship with plebeian weeds
As well as with patrician flowers
Above them soaring like church towers.

"Scum of the race!" The stone you hurl
Would light on Nancy Hanks, would curl
Diogenes' large lips in scorn;
Nor would it miss a hero born
In Galilee of humble folk
As ever bore the patient yoke
Of poverty, a hero still
Who bends the Occidental will
Toward love and brotherhood, and lifts
Man's hope beyond the cosmic drifts.

"Scum of the race!" What beacon now
Sheds light on every thoughtful brow?
What is it but the Russian ban
On class prerogatives for man?
We watch the drastic Slavic ways,
Condemn the ruthlessness, but praise
Great Lenin's vision; hold his dream
Too dear to fail; in our extreme
Extremity we, watching, pray
To see it end the long delay
Of liberty for all mankind.

Blind leaders, calloused, hardened-blind,
Too long you soothe yourselves with names
And epithets. Within the frames
Of lowly cabins comes the cry
For light to steer their frail craft by.
The hope that governs your life rises
Out of each flake of scum that prizes
The selfsame honors you, and you,
Elect to pin your banners to.
The selfsame hopes, and loves, and fears
Dog his slow steps throughout the years.
Come, Russia, set the masses free,
And show what life on earth can be!

WILBERT SNOW

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

The Challenge of Europe

The Challenge of Europe. By Sherwood Eddy. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

ONE who wishes an answer to the question whether religion can be useful in the twentieth century could do no better than to examine the interests, activities, and writings of Mr. Sherwood Eddy. The latter has forsaken all immediate interest in the finely spun webs of controversial theology and has devoted himself wholeheartedly to the promotion of social justice. If he has any active interest in supernaturalism and immortality, he certainly does not allow it to interfere with the much more practical and direct problem of making this world a better place in which to dwell. And he makes it very clear that if it is to be such we must depend primarily upon intelligent human effort.

Mr. Eddy's latest book, *The Challenge of Europe,* is a devastating demonstration that, fifteen years after the Armistice, Europe and the world are still staggering along under the burdens of imbecility, corruption, and waste which were created during the four years of fury and the two years of folly which came after. He shows that there are more potential causes of war today than in June 1914. He proves equally clearly that the challenge of conditions to the whole nationalistic and capitalistic complex is far more impressive and menacing than it was when the Treaty of Versailles was signed.

In his latest book Mr. Eddy, as in all of his other books of recent years, indulges in little generalized preaching or complaining. His material is eminently concrete, and his generalizations amply supported by up-to-date and adequate factual data. He considers the conditions and problems presented by the various European countries, then summarizes their import for all Europe, and finally very clearly indicates the significance of European problems for the United States.

Germany he finds to be the scapegoat nation. The victim of the extremely adroit and vastly organized Entente propaganda during the World War, she has been pursued by this tissue of lies ever since the War closed. She was saddled with the war guilt lie in the Treaty of Versailles. Her colonial empire was seized and distributed. Enormous reparations were hypocritically imposed upon her on the foundation of the war guilt myth. Much of her European territory and mineral resources were torn from her. Her territory was split in twain by the Polish Corridor. Since 1920 the Allies have conducted themselves in a manner perfectly designed to bring the Republic to an end. Goaded to desperation, the Germans turned to anyone who promised relief from depression and humiliation. Hitler is the answer. While any far-sighted person must deplore his appearance and dominion, he is the natural product of the preposterous policies of the Entente since November, 1918.

France has built up a security obsession as an over-compensation for her underlying guilt complex. She has advanced the myth of the "three German invasions," well knowing that France was actually the aggressor at the time of the two Napoleons, as well as in the days of Raymond I in 1914. She is today the richest state on the continent of Europe and enjoys the most lop-sided military hegemony in the whole history of Europe. In spite of all this, however, she still teaches her people to believe that she was fighting America's war and that our collection of a third of her original war debt represents gross ingratitude and Shylockian cupidity. But there is some hope in the intelligent insight of French liberals who perceive the falsity and folly of the whole French position and are sincerely working in the face of great odds for the creation of a régime of realism and good-will in Europe.

Great Britain, the victim of the short-sighted Francophile and Germanophobe prejudices of Sir Edward Grey, is unlikely ever to recover from the abyss into which his weak-mindedness plunged the country. The Liberal party has evaporated, the Labor party is unequal to its opportunities and responsibilities, and the Tory gang neither learns nor forgets anything. The country is overwhelmed by industrial depression and unemployment at home and her far-flung imperial system is honeycombed by the rise of nationalist sentiment in India and elsewhere. She was thrown off the gold standard through the treacherous gambling in international exchange carried on by her former ally, France. But the necessity of maintaining a united front on the war debt issue makes it impossible for her to face either her own people or the world in a realistic fashion on this issue.

In Italy we find Fascism, the last stand of the desperate capitalism. It is supported by a patriotic psychosis fed by the grandiose hope of restoring the glories of imperial Rome. Many Americans look longingly at Mussolini as the type who must save America. But they are here deceived, for there is little chance of creating in the United States the intense patriotism without which Mussolini could not remain in power for a month. Moreover, if the financial pirates who control our national economy would make the concessions to state socialism which Mussolini has already introduced, they could probably save the day without dictatorship. They vaguely imagine that we could have an American fascism devoted to intensifying and prolonging the hopelessly bankrupt system of rugged individualism.

The lesser states of Europe are either gorged and arrogant as in the case of Poland, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, or mangled and resentful, as in the case of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. There are today more definite sore spots and points of friction which carry within themselves the seeds of a possible European war than existed at the opening of the year 1914. All Europe outside of Russia is undermined by greedy and short-sighted capitalism and a fantastic national patriotism.

Russia alone is sincerely devoted to the task of building a better civilization for the mass of mankind, however wrong-headed she may be in certain doctrinnaire obsessions and in details of her

general policy. The Five Year Plan has succeeded remarkably well in the mechanical field, but not enough concessions have been made to meeting the requirements of ordinary human comforts and decency. If these latter defects are remedied, she will certainly present a most powerful and comprehensive challenge to the whole capitalistic system.

The United States cannot stand aside and view with complacency the tremendous issues which are confronting Europe. We share the more basic problems with that continent. Isolation is simply a phase of the outworn policy of nationalism. Like it or not, we are deeply involved in European affairs and isolation is nothing more than willful and dangerous blindness. Unless there is intelligent leadership in both Europe and the United States and rational coöperation between these two world areas, Mr. Spengler's prediction of the decline of western civilization will become a realized fact.

Mr. Eddy's constitutional optimism leads him to predict decisively a "new and better day." But he is realistic enough to recognize that there is no short cut to Utopia. He makes it clear that a world devoted to wealth without justice cannot long endure.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

The "Cruel Redskin" As Peacemaker

The Indian as Peacemaker. By Mabel Powers. Fleming H. Revell Co. $2.00.

INNUMERABLE persons may be found who exhibit historical contrition over the treatment meted out to the American Indian by his white conquerors, and who will agree without reserve that the most warlike traits of the red man were acquired from bitter contacts with the paleface. Not many, however, realize that in certain respects the various tribes of North American natives produced peace prophets, peace statesmen, and even, for a time, a bona fide league of peace.

Miss Powers, who has long been a champion of the Indian, writes out of friendly acquaintance with several tribes, as well as many of the Smithsonian studies. Truth to tell, her book is a bit thin in developing its thesis; but the author modestly describes it as a preliminary work, and if there is not a more detailed record, this is less her fault than that of the earlier writers who were so zealous in presenting only the gory side of Indian life. "To follow a peace trail," she says, "through the tangled growths of misunderstanding, war, aggression and intrigue that have sprung up around the American Indian and have been nurtured by history for centuries, has not been smooth trailing. Indian Peacemaking is an unwritten chapter in the red man's history. The catalogue files of every large library are filled with index cards on 'Indian Wars,' but I have yet to discover the library-file containing the subject-heading, 'Indian Peace' or 'Indian Peacemaking'."

With a delightful Seneca song Miss Powers opens her book, and follows with "the founding of the first league of nations". She means, of course, the union of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, and Cayugas (and later the Tuscaroras) to form what came ultimately to be known as the Six Nations. A legendary origin of this league is found in the son of a virgin birth, Deganawida, who together with Ha'hyowe't'ha (Hiawatha) was founder of the Iroquois league. The author's enthusiasm leads her somewhat astray when she refers to this union as the "first league of nations," when it was antedated twenty-three centuries by the amphictyonic leagues of the ancient Grecian archipelago and the Lycian League of Asia Minor. But she makes out a fascinating case for the statesmanship which, prior to the seventeenth century, on American soil, worked out an association of tribes to abolish blood revenge, with a liberal attitude toward womanhood, with a warriors' corps reserved mainly for policing, and with singularly democratic methods of control.

Further chapters discuss the peace relationships between Indians and Swedes, Quakers, Moravians, and others; and a long list of various peacemakers among the red men is followed by several short stories based on pacific incidents. Even allowing for the obvious eagerness of the author to make what she can out of every grain of evidence, there can be nothing but praise for the patience with which, aided by several scientists, she has brought to life this exhibit of peace momentum among those so carelessly labelled by the thoughtless as "savages" but who, even in their primitive state, are rather to be classed as enlightened barbarians.

Because Miss Powers did not find it, or else decided for some reason to omit a reference to it from her book, anyone interested in finding some particularly rewarding material on the peace attitudes of the Indians should supplement the present volume by a reading of the relevant sections in *The American Indian Frontier,* by William Christie McLeod. Professor McLeod's book cannot be excelled for facts, style, or general viewpoint in its field. He declares stoutly that "prophets have been more numerous in aboriginal America than among any other race or people or culture save the Jews." Many of these prophets fulminated against war and besought their followers to rely for security only on divine intervention or good-will. Some, at a more practical period, relied on treaties and the deliberate cultivation of friendship. Of these prophetic Indians Professor McLeod says:

> Generally they taught universal peace, not only forbidding war of Indian against Indian, but war of Indian against white; they recommended the giving "unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's," until such time as the imminent millennium arrives—for they taught that the Indians were the Chosen People of the Great Spirit and that through a cataclysm the whites and all non-believing Indians would sink away, the earth would be renewed, and the Indians would live in an earthly paradise.

One of the unnamed prophets of the Delawares inveighed against war, polygamy, sorcery, and alcohol. And from these mystical voices to the very end of the corrosive chapters of white-Indian conflict, there were those who strove sacrificially to bend the current of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries into more peaceable channels. Surely, in consideration of their galling situation, the steady pressure of the white nutcracker that despoiled them of their lands, their power, and, worst of all, their freedom of movement, it is a tribute to their racial character that peace sentiments and enterprises could flower even momentarily. And if sober judgment forces the conclusion that such products of the red race were sporadic and atypical, can less be said for the invaders who, to be sure, produced a Penn and a handful of fair settlers here and there, but who also developed the hideous treachery of the Puritans and the Connecticut colonists, and the later buccaneering pestilence that swept from coast to coast?

If it is possible to err, as indeed it is, by making the red American a more romantic and saintly figure than he really was, the white record abundantly justifies these pungent epigrams quoted by Miss Powers from Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces:

> Look twice at a two-faced man.
> The eye tells what the tongue would hide.
> Big name often stands on small legs.
> Finest fur may cover toughest meat.

D. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Beginnings of Violence

THE next few months will be marked by increasing violence on the part of the American workingman. After three years of "good sportsmanship" and abject poverty the man with staggering debts and starving children is about to revolt. The widely publicized strike at the Briggs plant has dropped the spark which will be fanned into a roaring blast as strike kindles strike and the man with a part-time job and a full-time appetite walks out. Fearful and distressing as the fact may be, we must face it. Not only are the unemployed a menace to social stability, but so, also, are the partially employed. There is doom and destruction for factories further cutting wages and speeding up work. The worm has turned.

What the laboring people have suffered is more than enough to exhaust the human patience. Who can measure the suffering of a proud provider who must share with his children the bread of poverty and find his scanty, uncertain income steadily lowered! Who can reckon the account of an ambitious little man who scraped and saved to buy a small farm and then lost it by foreclosure and was forced into a dismal and crowded two-room flat! Is there any who dares cast the first stone of sentence against the worker who sees his burden of debt mount to sums greater than he (though a young man) can in his life-time pay off and, in his utter despair asks, "Why should I work if I can't eat?" Patience is exhausted. Hopes once pinned on business leaders and statesmen are now dashed. No longer can they trust others for action. Now they must act for themselves. First, by voting, but, if that fails, by striking, and if that fails——

In our small silk industry the men met another wage cut by a demand for a wage increase, and struck. Well they knew the mill was losing money—so were they. Furthermore, they knew higher wages meant the virtual end of the mill, but pleas for continued patience no longer avail. I talked with the men hours on end, reasoning, pleading, persuading, but their answer was decisive. "We have given up all hope. We've waited three years for things to get better and they are getting worse. America has wealth enough, we are told; why doesn't it get around to us? You say it is better to earn half a loaf than none at all, but must we use up a whole loaf of energy earning half a loaf of food? We're at the end of the rope. We will hang on no longer."

Such strikes are aimed not at any particular local situation but at the general national distress. They are not the redress of specific grievances, but a broadside against the whole depression. Not that these men would change the system. They are still fundamentally capitalistic even though they resort to Communistic leadership. This is a demand for action, a violent assertion of the right of every citizen to have a hand in the shaping of events. The rights of suffrage and free speech are becoming the right of free participation in economic recovery or collapse.

"Action! Action!" is the cry. Done with your endless debating and Senatorial filibusters! Farmers, miners and mill-men join the ranks of the discontented unemployed! Rebellion is sprouting in the darkened cellar of every American home. Can we delay planting while the seed destroys itself? Surely the cry of the partly employed must be heard before it is too late. The voices of despair at the wailing wall have become the howl of a mob, and the call to prayer a summons to action.

Westbrook, Maine. RAY GIBBONS

When Freedom Is Not Freedom

JUDGING by your editorials one might assume that the question of Philippine independence has but one side. Nevertheless I think it quite possible for persons as solicitous of the welfare of the Filipinos as the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW to hold opinions considerably at variance with theirs. It is a little surprising, too, that the editors still confuse, apparently, freedom with independence. In this connection I should be interested to know what proof you have for the statement appearing in your editorial on page 75 of the issue of January 25, 1933, that the "inhabitants themselves" (of the Philippines) desire independence.

In the event of such independence I think one might expect, as a matter of course, the development of conditions in the Philippines akin to or worse than those mentioned in your editorial on page 102 in the issue of February 1 under the head of "Cuba Libre." In such extremely probable event, and in the absence of "other Latin-American countries to bring joint coöperative pressure" to bear on the recalcitrant "politicos," what would be your solution of the problem? Somehow, by the way, I can't quite see the United States—even as irresponsible as it seems to be—permitting a continuance of conditions like those outlined in your editorial if, as you suggest, Cuba were "virtually our vassal state."

West Medford, Mass. ALCOTT W. STOCKWELL

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THE Eighth Seminar in Mexico, held under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America to provide opportunity for study of the life and culture of the Mexican people, meets July 8 to 28, 1933. It offers a three weeks' program of lectures, round tables and field trips—all planned to give a comprehensive and non-propagandist introduction to Mexico.

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Who's Who in This Issue

James C. Rettie, former secretary of the Christian Association at Yale, is now studying in England.

John Dewey is one of America's foremost philosophers and educators.

Henry Hodgkin, a well-known Anglo-American Quaker, is director of the Pendle Hill School at Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

Harry Elmer Barnes is special writer for the Scripps-Howard newspapers and is the author of "Genesis of the World War" and scores of other volumes dealing with social and political affairs.

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THE LAST WORD

WHICH tribe of human beings affects the greatest antithesis to nudism, I do not know; though it is probably the Impuris who reside along the Sneekee River on Righteous Island. Personally, I could never subscribe to the theory that those who wore the most clothes were the most moral; though the streets of our cities teem with people who believe it, and the country districts, where it matters least of all how much or how little is worn, are even more than other sections polluted with morality.

And that is why, I suppose, that every now and then the United States is made to look ridiculous in the sight of the world. It took some cheap politician of the postal service, a while ago, to discover that Goya's *Maya Desnuda,* which hangs in the Prado Museum at Madrid, would offend the American morality when reproduced on a Spanish postage stamp, and so a diplomatic (?) protest was made. Yet I recall the impersonal manner in which a young couple stood in front of that glowing nude, when I saw it, and commented critically to each other on the master's technique. Who's immoral?

Then, later, the moral panjandrum of Radio City banned a couple of nude statues—it was either banishment or overcoats. And now a customs official's sub-official has recently barred, though only temporarily, some reproductions of the famous Sistine Chapel figures by Michael Angelo. Only the fact that Americans do not control the world preserves such works as the "David" in Florence, the "Cupid" in London, and the muscular slaves in the Louvre. As a dictator, my punishment for officious prudishness would be to exhibit, unclad, the prudes in public. But no; on second thought, their very morality would make such a plan immoral.

To be sure, I am no nudist. Nudism doesn't go down, unless in isolation, for life makes it just too silly; Carlyle was right when he asked, "Lives the man that can figure a naked Duke of Windlestraw addressing a naked House of Lords?" That would be nearly as ridiculous as a thinking House of Lords. But on the other hand, how often does the Bible present wrongdoers as those amply garbed, and *vice versa?* The wicked are not nude, but clad in sheep's clothing; the riotous in soft raiment; the violent in the garments of vengeance. But in Revelation, a great war for the Right was won by Michael and his angels over the dragon, Satan, who would have devoured the child of destiny, the first-born of that splendid symbolic figure, "a woman clothed with the sun".

I CAN, I confess, get worked up into ecstasy over the translucent flesh of an Ingres or a Henner. But I can become equally stirred by the horseflesh of a Wouverman or a Meissonier. I can even wish dolefully that poor old Rubens, who little knew how popular taste was to change toward ungarbed heavy-eaters, might have toned down his lustrous epidermises; for if at times a lily may be gilded with impunity, it must not be a large one. How muddled we are, thanks to our heritage of prurience! To exhibit exceptionally beautiful persons alive in art museums would be considered vile; but that it assuredly would not be. On the other hand, we tolerate the prize chicanery of bathing beauty contests, which are insufferably base and vulgar.

In any event, to scold the late Signor M. A. Buonarotti for figures he painted 400 years ago seems hardly fair. Especially since he didn't want to paint them, and was only forced to by a willful Pope. After a year at it, the man who rightly felt that his best field was sculpture and not ceilings, wrote gloomily: "I am uselessly wasting my time." That was a vast exaggeration; yet if the dragons of ignorance who guard our portals have their way, so far as America is concerned the discouraged and lame-necked artist's statement will be true.

Eccentricus

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